1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

the social position he makes for himself by inheritance, but the heir must have demonstrated his own ability before others will recognise that he has inherited the status. 428 554 624

There are no formal councils: most matters of importance are discussed by the groups lying about the sweatlodges waiting an opportunity to enter. Occasionally, somewhat more formal meetings are held. On August 11, 1918 two Walapai, Doctor Tommy, a shaman, and Waglaga, both elderly men, arrived. The following morning word was circulated that there would be a meeting at Captain Jim's camp. About forty adult men seated themselves in a rough semicircle, partly along a convenient bank, with the two Walapai at one end. Manakadja sat opposite the group at the center of the arc. Waglaga spoke first, then Bob, a Havasupai shaman, Doctor Tommy, Big Jim, Captain Jim, Watahomidja, and Manakadja. Neither Sinyella nor Panamida, the other two chiefs, were present. The Walapai brought an invitation to attend a mourning ceremony to be given in memory of a Walapai chief, who before he died the year previous had asked that his friends, the Havasupai, be invited. They asked who was going to the meeting. Bob replied for himself that he had just recovered from illness and was too weak to go. Big Jim, Captain Jim, and Watahomidja repeated the Walapai message and asked who was going. Manakadja also repeated it and announced that he did not intend to go. The delivery of the Walapai was almost a chant, continued as long as the breath held out. Roger, a young man, hard of hearing, seated before them, repeated their concluding words, until the speaker, taking another breath, proceeded, first repeating his own last words. Thus, Waglaga, "Something is not good"; Roger, "Not good"; Waglaga, beginning again, "Not good, but so and so . . ." Sometimes Roger would add a phrase to carry the sense forward, as "Someone is not willing"; Roger, "Not willing, but so and so is . . ."; Waglaga, "Not willing, but so and so is, and therefore . . ." Some of Roger's additions were evidently semi-humorous as they provoked laughter. The speeches of the Havasupai were more declamatory: they had no such aids.[1] At the end of every man's speech there was a chorus of approval; *Adnigo*, good. The Walapai brought and passed about a quipu, a woolen cord six inches long, with seven knots representing the seven days until the ceremony, viz., they would start in three days, take two days on the trip, and the next day (August 18) the meeting would begin. The knotted cord was handed about and explained privately at the end of the speech making 623 623 648 623 648 805 211

[1] These speeches were not recorded.

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623 plained privately at the end of the speech making. Ultimately about
648 fifty men and women went to the Walapai ceremony.

The repeater, Roger in this case, is invariable when strangers speak formally. Anyone who wishes may perform the function.

Garcés observed the same type of formal meeting among the Walapai
171 in 1776.

623 On the following day there were arriving bands now of six, now of eight men, he who came at the head of each one of them making his harangue in my presence, and the Jaguallapai captain who was accompanying me responding to them in my behalf. This address of welcome is a custom among them; and at its conclusion each (speaker) turns to his band, asking them if he has spoken well and if that which he has set forth to them has suited them. I observed on this occasion that all of those of the band unanimously responded alike to their respective captains that it was good.[1]

Trade

439 An active trade was conducted with the Navaho and Hopi to the east and with the Walapai and Mohave to the west. In fact, we may properly speak of a northern Arizona trade route from the Hopi to Mohave, independent of more southerly tribes and cut off from those to the north by the Grand Canyon.

[281] The Havasupai are noted for their buckskin among other tribes, according to Cushing,[2] but it must be added that they have no special process of tanning. Their trade with the Walapai was in eastern woven stuffs exchanged principally for raw deer hides, or sometimes tanned skins, and such far western articles as abalone or haliotis shell and the ears of dwarf corn obtained from the Mohave. The skins were tanned at home and carried to the Navaho, Hopi (chiefly at Oraibi), and the few Zuñi met in the Hopi pueblos. Loom products, blankets, sashes, etc., were mostly desired of the Hopi; silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo (*dmθiŋ*) skins were also obtained. In return they furnished tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings of the same, mescal, piñon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopi flattened and bored for spindle whorls. The Hopi also desired ears of seed corn as long as the forearm from elbow to fingertips. Paiute were also met on the Little Colorado and among the Walapai, but occasionally visited at home. Garcés furnishes interesting evidence of the extent of this trading at the end of the eighteenth century. He found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles from the same source, among the Walapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning home by

[1] Coues, 325–326. Garcés is somewhere between Truxton Canyon and Peach Springs, that is, in Walapai territory. He calls the people Yabipais, but he uses that word for any Yuman-speaking people east of the Mohave.

[2] Cushing, (a), 553.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

chairman resigned from the council in a blaze of anger.

This is not an isolated example of initiative or of public action now being taken by Havasupai women, although men unquestionably are dominant in public affairs. 623 562

Shamanism

Informants agree with Spier's report (1928, 277) that only men become shamans among the Havasupai. 756 562

Women of the neighboring Walapai frequently become shamans, however, and a Havasupai woman living with them has long been a practitioner. She is Sally Siyuja Imus, born about 1875, who in her youth married a Walapai. As explained by a Havasupai shaman who is related to her, "Her father was a medicine man. Maybe she got it (her curing power) from him."

She did not become a shaman until some years after her marriage, apparently during middle age. Havasupai informants say that she is popular among the Walapai, and that Havasupai sometimes seek her services if they become ill away from Supai. Nothing about her personality was recorded, beyond the assertion that "most people like her."

The only other woman among the Havasupai having any connection with shamanism probably lived around the turn of the century or a little later. She was a good singer, and had learned the curing songs of several shamans who frequently asked her to sing with them in curing ceremonies. This woman, however, neither performed alone nor did she have shamanistic dreams. She made no claim to having acquired curing power.

Thus, women seem to have been barred from leadership in the guise of shamanism. However, cultural transition in recent years has brought a decline in the importance of this role, which has been encroached upon both by general acceptance of physicians and establishment of a Christian mission. [177]

Christianity has brought a new field of activity to Havasupai women. While the mission has converted only a small minority, more women than men are converts. Almost all those of most fervent conviction are women. It is they who predominate in attendance at meetings, who teach and take part in classes, and who proselyte in the tribe. It may be predicted that when more men are converted, women will assume a lesser role. However, it is equally predictable that women will continue to be active participants and will aspire to certain positions of leadership in the tribal mission. 797 562

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist- 593
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftain- [156]
ship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 593
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidjia*, your mother, *mamadjitaiha*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 586
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 842
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 843
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [182]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon, the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clowniah manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

643 war parties, and condemns criminals,
793 but also prays, offering sacrifices toward securing rain, propitious seasons, and success in the chase for his children, as he terms his nation. He receives, contrary to the Pueblo practice, tithes for [651] his offices, and is usually as wealthy as 556 any member of the tribe, although by no means exempted from labor in the field or the hunt. Neither he nor his sub-chiefs wear insignia of rank about their persons, so far as I could discover.

643 The present head chief, Ko-hót, is nicknamed Navajo. He is a man of the [551] most wonderful character. His portrait in profile, as I look upon it, and to the sketching of which he submitted with ease and pleasure, bears a remarkable likeness to Washington. I cannot forbear giving two instances of his judgment, which exemplify his fine sense of justice, but at the same time his unrelenting will, in any measure, however 643 severe, for the good of his own people. When the Apache Mojaves were moved 692 by government to San Carlos, one of 648 them, discontented, returned through his former country, and after great suffering reached the home of the Ha-va-supai. He expressed his wish to live with the latter people to the end of his days. Ko-hót convened a council, and after long and fair deliberation concluded that it would be offensive to the Americans should he be harbored, and endanger his own people, leading ultimately, perhaps, to their removal as well. He therefore informed the Apache that, notwithstanding he was a member of a nation of enemies, he felt for him, but could give him the choice of but two alternatives, — return to San Carlos, or death. The Apache, hoping Ko-hót would relent, replied that die he might, but re- [696] turn to San Carlos he never would. Ko-hót arose, then and there, without one more word, and struck him dead.

643 When the officers of the cavalry ex-
● 623 pedition called a council, and told Ko-
657 hót that their mission was to determine

[p. 552 A]

643 the borders of his country for all time,
623 and that it remained with him to decide
657 how large it should be, he replied to the following effect: "My people live by their country and their river. They are small. Let your lines but include the river and the little plain we live on; for why should a small nation wish for a great country? There are many other nations in the world. Some one of them — the Americans, perhaps, for they are a great people, and talk of making boundaries where we have lived very well for all time without them — might try, some time, if it were large and indivisible, to take our country from us. Where would the Ha-va-su-pai go? To San Carlos, or to destruction?" And he would not permit the boundaries to be placed a step above the springs which feed his river, or a foot below where it leaps down into the pool under the limestone barrier.

756 Aside from the head chief, perhaps the only representatives of an ecclesiastical order are the well-paid medicine men, some of whom, by virtue of their practices, are a sort of chiefs, and keepers of old traditions and songs, if my informant told the truth. They are be-
[753] lieved to possess certain influences over the spirits, and exorcisms which cause disease, as well as over the benevolent spiritistic agencies which assist in its amelioration or cure. Incantation and
755 jugglery are practiced by them, and as
756 the disease or influence is supposed to have an objective spiritual existence, the whole company around a sick person, over whom the doctor is practicing his insane manipulations, rise up at certain intervals of the song, and pound hard bodies, yell, shoot arrows into the air, and fire off guns, in order to assist the medicine man in its extraction, or in frightening it away. No penalty for failure to cure seems to exist, save per-
683 sonal abuse, unless the doctor be accused
754 of sorcery, in which case he suffers, as is the case with other Indians, the uni-

521 461 about the fire, and the visitor is scarcely distinguishable from the hostess, as she shares with her all duties in which the latter may be engaged. So also, when at work in the fields, the women are prone to gather in busy little groups, where their talk and merriment, free from the restraint of the men, are louder than about the household fire.

857 The children are always boisterously at play, the girls with the boys, and are touchingly affectionate toward one another. The youth gather on level spots and run races, or play games of chance by the hour. They are fond of displaying themselves on horseback; two, sometimes even three, mounting some little pony, and wildly galloping up and down the paths which thread the cornfields where the women and girls are at work. They improve their marksmanship and gain local celebrity, vying with one another in firing at the marks of nature's hand about the great cliffs of their subterranean home.

623 643 Councils among the members of the tribe are incessant, though very rarely attended by the chiefs in a body, and never, save on occasions of the utmost gravity, by the head chief, Ko-hót.

648 609 643 As illustrative of this, I may give the following example: When I entered the cañon, warned of the characteristics of the Ha-va-su-paí by Pu-lá-ka-kai, I made a rule, in the first council, that any trade sealed by the customary hand-shake and "*e-há-ni-ga*," or "thanks," should be regarded as final. During one of the four days of our stay, Pu-lá-ka-kai traded one of his jades for a quantity of things, among which was a famously large buckskin. The next morning, the evil-looking, one-eyed fellow who had purchased the horse returned to trade back, or have the difference split by a return of the buckskin. Pu-lá-ka-kai asked my permission, and I tersely refused. The man went away, soon coming back with a noisy, low-browed crowd, which increased in size and noisiness, until, to-

[439]

[P 554B] ½ [i.e., horse. Analyst]